

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Study

Along 2006-2007, a great controversy rose in Indonesia in which the controversy was related to the arrangement of the Bill of Anti Pornography and Pornographic-Action (Rancangan Undang-Undang Anti Pornografi dan Pornoaksi/RUU APP) as what was being discussed by The House of Representative (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat/DPR). Actually, this topic has been discussed since Megawati Soekarnoputri's presidency for period 1999-2004, but she postponed it. The discussion of the Bill was started since DPR proposed it on February 14th, 2006 in which the Bill contained 11 chapters and 93 articles. Abstracted from the content of the Bill, the definition of pornography was "substansi dalam media atau alat komunikasi yang dibuat untuk menyampaikan gagasan-gagasan yang mengeksploitasi seksual, kecabulan, dan/atau erotika", while pornographic-action was described as "perbuatan mengeksploitasi seksual, kecabulan, dan/atau erotika di muka umum" (DPR, 2006).

In facing the Bill, the voices of DPR members were broken to three sides: agreed, supported, and disagreed on it. There were 3 parties who agreed on it: PKS (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera), PPP (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan), and PAN (Partai Amanat Nasional); 2 secular parties who supported the Bill: PD (Partai Demokrat) and Partai Golkar; and 2 parties who disagreed the Bill, PDIP (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan) and PDS (Partai Damai Sejahtera) (Nuzuliyanti,

2009). The parties who agreed on the Bill are parties with Islam principles, while two parties who disagreed on the Bill are parties with freedom principles, and the rests are secular parties. Each of them has its own argument about it. The controversy not only differ the voices of DPR members, but also the society. Some of them supported it and more others against it. It became one of the most controversial issues in 2006.

The demonstrations which often occurred in 2006 supported the DPR to rethink about the Bill by making many revisions until the final revision was released on Agustus 24th, 2007. The name of the Bill was also changed from RUU APP into RUU Pornografi (the Bill of Pornography) and it was simplified to only 10 chapters and 52 articles. Based on section 1 of RUU Pornografi, the definition of pornography was "materi seksualitas yang dibuat oleh manusia dalam bentuk gambar, sketsa, ilustrasi, foto, tulisan, suara, bunyi, gambar bergerak, animasi, kartun, syair, percakapan, gerak tubuh, atau bentuk pesan komunikasi lain melalui berbagai bentuk media komunikasi dan/atau pertunjukan di muka umum, yang dapat membangkitkan hasrat seksual dan/atau melanggar nilai-nilai kesusilaan dalam masyarakat" (DPR, 2007). Coalescence of pornographic-action's definition to the pornography's definition was also done to omit the controversy in society.

Although DPR has revised the Bill and announced it, the controversy still continued and reached its climax in 2008. At the end of September 2008, the Bill was really legitimated to be UU Pornografi (the Act of Pornography) by DPR. The legalization influenced people who against the Bill to hold mass demonstrations in some cities. The demonstrations were done because they

thought that the Bill was one of sensitive issue related to religion, democracy, and rights.

Further, the Bill kept becoming a hot issue not only because of the points, but also because of the mass media that played the role in making the topic more sensitive. Newspaper is a type of mass media that played that significant role since newspaper are produced daily, keeping people to stay in touch with the most recent issues, and offered for public sale (McQuail, 2005). Therefore, newspaper had power to form public opinion at that time, as we can still see today. There are many particular events which happened in many places in the world that are delivered to audiences as reliable reports. Newspaper delivers those events as news which is held to be timeliness, relevance, and reliability (truth value) in printed media. Since the newspaper production is aimed to give newest information to society, newspaper publishers do some tricks make newspaper widely chosen, allowing newspaper to penetrate people's mind to create particular opinion. Further, the popularity of newspaper influences people's thought that public opinion always gets along with the newspaper opinion.

Besides the readers, the existence of newspapers depends on journalists in which every journalist has his/her own perspective when they report some events. The journalists actually have to be objective to see the events they face because news they deliver is *a mirror of reality*, thus, it should provide the fact (Eriyanto, 2003). Therefore, their duty is to deliver the news reports as objective as possible to prevent bias (Eriyanto, 2003). When the journalists write their reports merely based on their interviews to someone or certain group, the reports can be

categorized as bias reports. Bias can also occur when the journalists write their own perspectives about the reports they deliver. Because of the bias, the journalists can be considered as not neutral side of their reports and it is categorized as a 'sin' in journalistic fields. However, bias is almost impossible to avoid because the journalists are a part of dominant group that indirectly marginalize minority group. Since the journalists work for a company, the journalists have to work based on the determined principles depends on the company's mission and vision. Unfortunately, these principles can be a representation of dominant power in society that eventually influences news delivered by the journalists. Moreover, the fact seen by the journalists is actually the fact which is also formed by society dominance.

The public opinion is constructed by reading newspaper, including the construction of pornography concept of RUU APP 2006 and 2007. The writer is interested to analyze the construction process because the news which was reported as texts in printed media written with languages which are appraised containing bias and power. This power has ability to influence the readers that eventually construct public opinion about particular event or in this case RUU APP.

In order to understand this Bill construction, the writer applied Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) by Norman Fairclough, one of Professors of Discourse Studies, who consider that language is a practice of power. Fairclough views that text which is spread through mass media has 'hidden power'. Fairclough in *Language and Power* (2001) suggests in media discourse, there is a sharp divide

between producers and interpreters since the media 'product' takes on some of the nature of a commodity, between producers and 'consumers'. Since media discourse is designed for mass audiences, media discourse has built into it a subject position for an ideal subject, and actual viewers or listeners or readers have to negotiate a relationship with the ideal subject (p.41). In simple word, text as part of discourse is the media which is used by the producers to innate their power through the formation of ideal subject. Moreover, Norman Fairclough and Ruth Wodak suggest that CDA is an analysis about discourse in its view of two things: (a) the relationship between language and society, and (b) the relationship between analysis and the practices analyzed (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258). Power relations are exercised and negotiated in discourse. Thus, power operates through language and is negotiated through language. Later, by uncovering opaqueness and power relationships, Critical Discourse Analysis is a form of social action that attempts to intervene and bring change in communicative and socio-political practices. Those mentioned above are two of eight key principles of CDA stated by Fairclough and Wodak (Paltridge, 2000). By applying this theory, the writer will analyze the language use in *Republika* news report to reveal its practice.

Further, *Republika* is well-known as a newspaper with Islamic ideology since *Republika* has remained in line with the establisher's view, ICMI (Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia), who has many Moslem intellectual people inside. Therefore, this newspaper becomes newspaper with Islamic ideology. Gigih Sari Alam (2009) in his writing views ICMI is institution who can raise

Islam spirit to guide of Indonesian people life to against Western ideology which has been developed continuously since the Cold War finished. As the vision and mission of *Republika* to nurture, protect and serve public affairs, *Republika* tried to deliver any concerns of society, especially about RUU APP. *Republika* obviously showed their agreement on releasing RUU APP, which indicates that *Republika* tended to have the same opinion with parties in DPR who agreed on releasing this Bill. It can be seen through the high number of news reports about the Bill shown in almost every month in 2006 and 2007 that showed their big support of it.

Moreover, Fairclough's theory will be applied in *Republika* news reports which were regarded the Bill. Those questions will be used by the writer who is interested in studying the construction of 'pornography' concept in public debate area in 2006 and 2007. Based on definition above, the Bill used two different discourses as found in 2006 version (before getting revision) and 2007 version (after getting revision) that make it more interesting. In 2006 version, it was implied that discrimination to two sides, women and culture. Women, in this case, were placed as object whose bodies and attitudes were limited, while any culture is prohibited since it was incompatible with the Content of the Bill. On the other hand, the classification of pornography to decide punishments became the scope of the Bill of 2007 version. For the analysis, the writer used several data that include news about the Bill taken from *Republika*. Specifically, the writer took the data from *Republika* newspaper published during 2006 and 2007.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

CDA addresses social problems by examining the linguistic character of social and cultural processes and structures. Thus, social and political processes have a (partly) linguistic or discursive character that is reflected in use of certain linguistic and discourse strategies and choices (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). In newspaper, the discourse which is in text form is delivered linguistically. But, the linguistic using in newspaper is always chosen by the journalists to make representation of reality to the readers, at once, indirectly to construct public opinion.

Based on the background of the study, the writer would like to figure out:

1. How did *Republika* construct the concept of pornography through its news articles about RUU APP in 2006 and 2007?
2. With what concepts are pornography associated with in the news articles?

1.3. Objective of the Study

Based on the Statement of the study above, this study is intended:

1. To figure out the construction of concept of pornography toward RUU APP news in *Republika* 2006 and 2007.
2. To figure out the concept of pornography are associated with in the news articles.

1.4. Significance of the Study

This study is done to understand the construction of pornography's concept in public area, in this case, news in newspaper. Later, this act of construction can be used to know the process of reality construction formed by many sides before the written news arrive at public's hand. Moreover, this study is expected to give meaningful contribution to the linguistic study, especially Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). In this case, analyzing construction of pornography's concept through CDA approach may enrich the study of CDA itself. Therefore, it is expected to provide useful information for the English Department students who are attracted in studying and analyzing the construction of a discourse. Hopefully, this study could increase the readers' interest and give a little attention about representation of news reports.

1.5. Definition of Key Terms

- RUU APP : a Bill which has been passed into Act by House of Representative and eventually formed as a bill to arrange pornography (and pornographic-action previously).
- Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) : a study that analyzes the opaque relationship between texts, contexts, and its wider social and cultural structures in order to reveal

the hidden values of the texts.
(Fairclough, 1995).

- Construct : build; put or fit together (Oxford Advance Dictionary of Current English).
- Power : strength, force; right; control; authority; right possessed by, or granted to, a person or group of persons; person or organization having great authority or influence (Oxford Advance Dictionary of Current English).